

FOLLOWING FRANCIS REDFERN

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PART II

**England at the
time of the Domesday Book
— 1086**

Price 30p.

Following Francis Redfern

ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF

DOMESDAY BOOK — 1086

(Redfern's section called "The Anglo-Saxon Period" which includes many old place names)

THE AIM of the previous short account of Mercian history was to give our story from the coming of the Saxons until the Norman Conquest of 1066. It is clear that Redfern did not realise that the Uttoxeter area found itself continually disturbed by fighting between Saxons and Britons, and between the different Saxon kingdoms themselves ; then even worse troubles came when the Danes followed the Saxons as invaders.

The gradual improvement in the middle years of the eleventh century was disrupted, not so much by the Norman invasion itself, as by the terrible revenge taken by William when the Midland Saxon earls Edwin and Morcar, sons of Earl Alfgar, rebelled — too late to have any chance of dethroning William.

In 1086 William ordered a complete survey to be made, and Redfern on page 91 (2nd edition) gives the record made of Uttoxeter ; he also explained the terms used in the book ; a "hide" of land he estimated at 120 acres (rather more than its original), a "caracute" he gives as the amount of arable land tilled in a year — again this was not quite the original meaning, which was the amount of ploughland which a pair of oxen could cultivate and harvest in a year. Another land term used in the survey was "virgate", corresponding to our modern "rod". Before proceeding to give details of this survey, it must also be noted that Redfern was slightly misled by two books from which he quotes the statements that William's object was not to get a complete survey of all the land in each place, but chiefly to compile a roll of rents and other dues which were to be paid to him. These statements made by the "Gentleman's Magazine" and St. Turner's "Anglo-Saxons", were partially true, but J. R. Green, writing

at the end of the 19th century, notes that the procedure was that "A jury impanelled in each hundred declared on oath the extent and nature of each estate, the names, number, condition of its inhabitants, its value before and after the Conquest, and the sums due from it to the Crown".

Everyman's Encyclopedia also states : "The principal object of the survey was at one time thought to be fiscal ; to make possible a sounder system of taxation. It was also of value in settling outstanding pleas, for the commissioners had the authority of royal justices. But William probably was most interested in finding out as much as possible about his kingdom, and it is for the picture which it gives of conditions in England in 1066 and 1086 that Domesday Book is so highly valued by the Historian".

At one time there were those who thought "Domesday" implied that the book would last until the end of the world. But "Domesday" really implies that it provided legal evidence on which "Doom" or judgement could be based — the word "Deemster" is still used in the Isle of Man for "Judge".

We will now give the entries made by William's Norman scribes (chiefly Monks, because they alone could read and write in Latin — the language of the survey) who at times went astray through their ignorance of the Saxon language.

The entry regarding Uttoxeter is given by Redfern as follows :— "Wotocheshede" belongs to the king. It formerly belonged to Earl Algar. It has half a hide of land. The arable land is ten carucates, with two in demesne and one servant, twenty-four villeins, eleven bordars, with eleven carucates. There are also sixteen acres of meadow land, and a wood two miles long and broad. It was worth seven pounds in the time of Edward the Confessor ; it is now worth eight pounds". In this extract Redfern explained that the villeins were employed in tillage and quoted Harland's "History of Manchester" to express the view that the ceorls (free men of the Saxons) and the thralls (conquered Britons and their families) made up this class. Harland was not exact in this classification ; the ceorls, it is true, gradually became dependent on the lords of the manor, and could be called upon to provide the lord with sufficient personal and team work ; the thralls, however, were indeed little more than slaves, though as centuries passed many of them became free men by purchase or by living in a chartered town for a year and a day.

The bordars Redfern correctly described as inferior to the villeins (as the word became) but omitted the fact that even they usually held small plots of land each with a cottage.

In fact, the English manorial system, begun when the great "Earldoms" were instituted in the early years of the

11th century, had more and more become like the feudal system of the Norman nobles who did homage to the king, and exacted the same obedience from those under their authority.

In a later chapter it will become important to note how this system gradually changed during medieval and later centuries.

Returning to Uttoxeter's Domesday record, we note that in 1086 it was by no means a place of any great size ; only about 60 acres produced arable crops — and modern varieties of wheat, barley, and oats, are far superior to the seed which was available to the Saxon farmers. Meadow land of 16 acres does not suggest a large amount of hay for stock, though four square miles of woodland could provide rough grazing and some "pannage" in the woods for swine. The total number of inhabitants, too, shows only a small township.

If we compare Uttoxeter with other places recorded, we should find (omitted by Redfern) that Rocester was valued at the same annual sum as Uttoxeter, i.e. £8. It had land for 9 ploughs, and 2 ploughs in the demesne ; there were 18 villeins and 10 bordars with 9 ploughs, and 20 acres of meadow ; it was only in the matter of woodland that Uttoxeter took precedence, for Rocester is said to have woodland a furlong in length and the same in breadth. But Rocester's Mill is set down as worth 10 /- a year. It was a royal manor, i.e. held by William himself.

Crakemarsh had land for 6 ploughs, and 6 acres of meadow. There were 2 villeins and 4 bordars with two ploughs, a mill rendering 10 /-, and woodland one league in length and the same in breadth. (Most woodland measurements must have been little more than guesswork by the Norman scribes). It is possible that some Mill on Tean Brook (there were three near Uttoxeter and Crakemarsh) may be the one, though two streams run by Crakemarsh to the Dove, from Stramshall and Creighton.

In comparison with Uttoxeter, Crakemarsh appears to have developed very little in over 800 years.

If we compare Uttoxeter with Tutbury in 1086 it is not very clear from the Domesday record whether there was the agricultural activity that could be expected at Tutbury, where some kind of a fort had previously existed on the Castle Hill. But the Norman scribes seem to have confused Tutbury township and some Burton land. William had already given Henry de Ferrars this part of Staffordshire, and the scribes were also confused in placing Tutbury in Pirehill Hundred, whereas it was part of Offlow.

The record reads — “ Henry de Ferrars has a castle at Toteberie. In the town around the castle are 42 men living only by their trades which they render by the market at £4. 10. 0. In Burton Henry has half a hide on which the castle stands. There are now 4 ploughs in the demesne. In the time of King Edward there were 12 carucates.”

“Burton” above obviously means part of Tutbury itself. The two parts are valued together at £5. 14. 0.

These uncertain records make comparison with other townships hardly possible, but the market (in 1086) was exceptional, and one is tempted to assume that the 42 men of various trades must have escaped (perhaps by influence of Henry de Ferrars) the fate which William had inflicted on most places in the Mercian Earldom of Edwin and Morcar. Another conclusion, which perhaps could be drawn from the lack of large cultivated areas at Tutbury, is that Henry's Castle, being the central Manor of what was the “honour” of Tutbury, was supported by the contributions of other lands held by Henry, such as Scropton, Hatton and Rolleston.

On pages 63-65 (2nd edition) Redfern had already recorded his exploration of the land just beyond Beamhurst, known as Madeley Holme, with some speculations concerning its field names, traces of previous occupation, possibly even prehistoric. He noted traces of foundations or walls.

The farm now consists of two cottages, and a large farmhouse and buildings. It was much more notable in 1086, the record showing : “ The same Robert (de Stafford) holds half a hide in Madelie, and Aelfrac holds of him. Godiva held this even after the coming of King William into England. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne is 1 plough ; and 5 serfs. There are 10 villeins and 8 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are two acres of meadow, woodland 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. In the same vill (i.e. farm settlement) 2 Englishmen hold $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land of the same estate, and there they have 5 bordars and 2 villeins. The whole manour is worth £4.”

Quite apart from the considerable size of this estate (which must have deteriorated during the later centuries) the holder, Lady Godiva, the two Anglo-Saxons who had a moderate holding — all these points are remarkable. It is possible that William allowed Lady Godiva to keep her manor out of chivalrous regard for a noble Lady, though her son Hereward (the Wake) is said to have opposed William's rule longer than any other Saxon leader ; and how two Anglo-Saxon men came to hold part of the estate after William's pitiless ravaging of Mercia is difficult to understand ; they *may* have been Saxons who readily accepted service under the Norman Robert de

Stafford, but it is doubtful if we shall ever know. The obvious size of the whole estate, larger than either Checkley or Stramshall (the nearest manors) confirms the opinion that it must have included land which has now become part of its neighbours.

Though Redfern mentions "circumstances which clearly identify our Saxon ancestors with Uttoxeter", he keeps other Domesday records for the end of his book, where he gives some of the facts in a few brief words.

Redfern reminds us, however, that wild life of the Saxon period included bears and wolves, and the words ending in -hurst, he gives as evidence of the woodlands of the time. (The term "forest" meant more than a wild open space, with or without trees. It was a legal term for a tract of land set aside from places under the common law, as there were special severe laws by which the king preserved the forests for his own hunting).

Redfern attributed special meaning to the term "hole-in-the wall" which occurred, he said, in a number of places. He attributed the name, thus given to a place in Silver Street, to its owner in Saxon times, "a thane Alwyne", and "hole-in-the-wall" was thus "alwyneshall". But there seems to be no reason for this rather fanciful derivation ; wherever there were walls, holes often could be found, some, Redfern himself notes, being resting places for sentinel guards ; and in any case. "Alfwyne" in Saxon language would be a feminine word.

Redfern next records (page 86 2nd Edition) the possibility of a Saxon Graveyard at Lowfields between Crakemarsh and Combridge. The graves are described as "slightly raised earthen banks in the form of a cross, which must indicate a Saxon burial ground". The word "low" is Anglo-Saxon for a hill or slope, which fits the situation of Lowfields ; similar names are "Arbor Low", the prehistoric stone circle in N.E. Derbyshire, Horninglow near Burton, and Totmonslow, which gave its name to the hundred in which Uttoxeter stood. The site has, however, been examined by archaeologists, who state that there appears to be no trace of a barrow.

Redfern refers to legendary accounts of Robin Hood, one grave being called Robin Hood's Butts. It might be as well here to note that Robin Hood legends place his period around 1200 ; he was mentioned by Langland in 1377, and may have some basis in history as so many legendary persons have. His other name Locksley has given rise to many folk-tales connected with several places of that name, and Redfern has some rather romantic ideas that Robert de Ferrars might have been the original Robin, whose honeymoon was spent at Loxley. The ballads certainly contain many details added by Medieval Minstrels long afterwards ; among such must be placed the

one which was the property of the Kynnersley family at Loxley Hall. These legends are to be found on pages 428 and 429 (2nd edition).

Redfern ends his story (as we have seen, an incomplete account) of Saxon times in England by a long list of names of fields etc., most of which owe their origin to Anglo-Saxon words. One is almost universal in our villages all over the land, in fact wherever there is a specially designed and roofed entrance gate to a Churchyard — the “lych-gate” as it is known ; Redfern says that he had leard this as “light-gate”, but if so, it must soon have ceased to be used. Redfern rightly gives the meaning “corpse” from the Anglo-Saxon word “lic” which originally meant “body” alive or dead. He also refers to the custom (now seldom found except in Ireland) of lyke-wake. i.e. watching or sitting with the dead.

Lichfield is derived, not as was once thought, from “bodies on a battle field”, but from an old English Licced (a grey wood) and with “field” means open land in licced forest. Redfern also mentions an interesting site at Dairy House Farm, Leigh, forty yards square with a double ditch on the east side. Draining operations had discovered pieces of chain armour and long pointed shoes ; Redfern considered this to be a relic of the 11th century, but the exaggerated pointed shoes were in fashion in the 14th century.

Redfern names the place Blithard Moat ; it is not far from the river Blythe, and on modern Ordnance Survey Maps is called Blithewood Moat. Further study of this interesting site is required. If it was a fort, its date is probably earlier than 1400.

Some place names which Redfern gives as Saxon are hardly correct ; he gives Saxon origins for the names of hills, fields, lanes and brooks ; this may be true for fields, lanes and smaller brooks, but most of the others are older Celtic words, as Redfern realised when mentioning the River Dove and Tean Brook ; his derivation of “Dove” from “dwr” meaning “water” does not agree with Ekwall’s opinion that “Dove” is the Celtic or Welsh “dubh” meaning “dark” ; though it is true that “dwr” meaning “water” does give us the first part of Derwent, the Adur in Sussex, and the two Dorchesters in Oxford and Dorset, both on rivers. Tean is allied to “Teign”, which is Celtic for “river” (though there is a Saxon verb “teon”, meaning to pull, or to draw a sword, which may have led Redfern to think it was violent.

Again, the tree called Alder, which gives its name to several small woodlands, known as “Owlercars”, has no connection with “old” ; “Alderman” does indeed mean an elder man of experience, the head of a Saxon community,

but Redfern's derivation should have been from a Teutonic word "alor" corrupted to "owler", and then joined to "carr" or copse. The woodland between Loxley and Field, known as "Carrie-coppice" is practically a repetitive word, equivalent to "wood-coppice", the coppice or copse meaning a wood kept at low height by periodical cutting down.

Redfern rightly shows that some words ending in - "holm" had two possible origins, meaning either an island, flat river-side land, or else connected with Anglo-Saxon "holegn", i.e. holly. The ornamental tree "holm-oak", whose leaves slightly resemble holly, has the same meaning as "holly". Beamhurst (Redfern's "woody") is "timber wood"; beam still survives today meaning plank or baulk of timber.

Redfern next takes the word "haugh" to mean a green plot in a valley, and therefore a sepulchre, but the word is still used in Scotland for a level plain, with no suggestion of burial. The "Hanging-wicket" mentioned by Redfern as being connected with "gate", is correct, but has no suggestion of a "wic" or dwelling, or even a small town, which survives in words like "baili-wick" the area where a bailiff rules; the "wickat" was a small gate or hurdle, used by shepherds to enclose a space quickly; hence a little gate in or beside a large gate was a "wicket", which could, of course, be "hanging", ready to drop quickly; cricket also owes its "stumps" to the use of a "wicket" by early country players of the game.

Redfern gave "Mountain Ash" as the true meaning of "Wiggins". I have not met with "Wiggins" except as a proper noun, but local dialect names do occur without much rhyme or reason, and this *may* be an instance, and may refer to the waving to and fro of a tree. Ekwall thought that a wych-elm was a possible tree for the name. On the other hand, wiggin was a dialect word in Cumberland, according to Halliwell, and was used of the rowan or mountain-ash tree.

Redfern mentions the name "Stonyford Brook" as it runs through the Ryecroft fields W.S.W. of the town. Most of us will not have heard this name applied to the Hockley Brook, over which there was a bridge on the Stafford Road called the "New Bridge" in the early years of the 17th century. It seems probable that there was originally a ford, with shallow water over a gravel bed on the old lane leading from the Heath to the "Plough Inn"; the building of the railway in 1843 considerably altered the course of this brook, as can be easily traced at the present day.

Next he mentions Eaton as being "water town"; this was known as Eaton Dovedale, towards which there was a bridle path marked in my boyhood; the place was recorded in Domesday Book. (It was also, as Redfern noted later, the place where King Charles I was entertained by Sir Thomas Milward.)

Though now only a farmhouse and buildings remain, in 1086 "Ularic had 1 carucate of land (for geld, i.e. taxation) and there was land for 2 ploughs. There were 5 villeins and 5 bordars, who had 3 ploughs there ; one mill worth 4 /- per annum and 16 acres of meadow. There was woodland, pasturable, 1 mile in length and half mile in breadth. In the time of King Edward the Confessor, it was worth 40 /- but now 30 /- and Alchar holds it."

Apparently, ownership of the manor had changed from a Saxon to a Norman chieftain, and the reduced value may have been due to some damage in the rebellion of 1071.

There does not seem to be any reason for its reduction in importance since Sir Thomas Milward's time ; its isolated position may have been one cause, and the land on the Derbyshire boundary there is hilly.

Other place names in Redfern's list are Wingfield and Wingfield Lake. He may be referring to Wingfield near Alfreton in Derbyshire, which is an example of a duplicate word, for "wing" meant open land, or field itself.

Then we have Poppingham, or Popinjay. The first name for the farm on the Kynnersley estate does occur in deeds ; it *may* have been corrupted to Popinjay as it is now known, but as Redfern notes, Popinjay was the name of a place where archery was practised as late as Tudor days, the target being a stuffed bird, or, it is to be feared, in times not remarkable for kindness, a live bird. The word was also used for any over-dressed young gentleman ; its origin is French (the language of the English court until the 14th century), and probably came to England with the meaning "parrot" ; "jay" may have been added owing to the colour of this bird, a member of the crow family, or even to its noisy chattering.

Next Redfern noted the name Hockley (the first part of the Stafford Road), and the Muckle Brook which crosses it. He thought that "Muckle" meant "dirty", but the brook even today is a clear stream, and the word means "large" and is more often found as "mickle", e.g. "Mickleover" near Derby is the high hill, contrasted with the nearby "Littleover", a smaller slope. "Hockley" is found in other counties, and Ekwall derives it either from "Hocca's Leah" or possibly from "hock", an old Saxon word for mallow, hence a meadow where that plant grows. The word "hock" has several other meanings ; "hock" days (Monday and Tuesday in Easter week) were old festivals by which on Mondays men were tied in bonds by women until a forfeit was paid ; the roles were reversed next day. The last load of the harvest, brought with dancing and feasting, was carried home in the "hock" cart. But there remains no indication that "hockley" was connected with dirt, unless indeed it was where the "*marsh mallow*" grew.

Redfern in some places derived the word "field" from "felled", i.e. a space cleared of trees ; but though the words are alike, "field" is a Saxon word for any open space, allied to the Dutch word used in South Africa as "veldt". Felling trees was akin to "falling" in modern English. Redfern notes that he had heard the word "lannock" applied to a "bucket ear", and elsewhere he mentions words like "gaun" (a tee-handled wooden milking pail, still found in the 1890's) ; some of these words are just local names, but some are survivals of Celtic utensil names. Redfern himself was a skilled maker of wooden vessels, often accurately made to be used as measures ; e.g. a bushel was made so that it measured corn accurately when a stick was passed over the top of the contents, and it is from this that the word "strike" originated ; damsons used to be marketed in large hampers which contained one bushel when the heaped-up top fruits were "struck" off, making the hamper just full.

The word "shaw" which is found in a number of places in the district is rightly given as "woodland" ; it is still so used in Scotland, probably because it has a Scandinavian origin, and more words of this kind occur in the farther north ; it occurs in "The Shaw Farm" near Fradswell, and "The Shaw House" near Alton. "Wodens", which Redfern found near Combridge, seems to be the farm called the "Woottons" between Combridge and the Hollington road.

Of the long list between pages 88 and 90 (2nd edition) Redfern confessed that he could give no derivation in some cases. The list is here given, with such explanations as are possible at the present day ; names which have obvious derivation are omitted. Redfern gives as his source for these names two surveys of Uttoxeter ; he thought that the first was dated 1658 (as we have previously shown, it was 1629), and the second was made in 1778. I have tried in vain to find a copy of the latter but I have been able to place most of the others. He later includes names of fields from the Stramshall and Creighton district.

The field name Bottoms comes first with clear reference to the lowest fields on a farm ; it is of interest to note that this word is not only found in all Teutonic speech which came with invaders in Saxon times, but occurs in Celtic dialects also. Redfern thought that "arbour" meant a place of refuge, but two words are here confused — harbour and arbour ; the former a place of safety (not only on the coast), the latter a herb-garden or bower.

Hazelwall is very likely not connected with "wall" or fortification or stockade, as Redfern thought, but is akin to "Caverswall" (there are two of these) where the second

syllable is allied to a "welling forth" of a stream ; a stream is close to both Caverswall's, one of which is by the River Blythe on the road to Longton, and the second is by the Blythe near Burndhurst Mill on the Stafford Road. Hazelwall Farm is a farm in Timber Lane.

The words Emath and Mastels are not easy to explain ; "math" may refer to mowing for hay (the next growth being "aftermath" in common use now) and possibly the "e" may stand for "ea" an island ; but "Mastels" has no known root, and may be a personal name ; "mast" in country places means "beech nuts", used in olden days for feeding pigs in autumn. But "Mastel" was an old English word for land on the edge of a field, never ploughed ; land which is now known as headland.

"Callcroft" may be akin to cole-croft, i.e. a croft of kale or cabbage, the word being used in Saxon times and medieval times for "caul", i.e. "stalks" ; we still use "cauliflower" which contains the same root-word ; but it is more likely to be a short form of "callow croft", callow being Saxon for bare, only lightly covered with soil ; it was used for land with topsoil removed to get gravel. There were several gravel pits along Stone Road until recent times.

There is no hint as to the place where Catchinene Croft lay. Catching was a term once used for irrigating a field by a succession of trenches just deep enough to allow a stream to pass from one to the next (this system is still in use in the Okanagan orchards in British Columbia).

Kiddlestich (now known as Kiddlestitch) was formerly Kiddlesick as Redfern noted. A most interesting feature on the old map (mentioned in early pages) is what appears to be a pond, with a stream entering it ; the pond is placed near to the present Heathfield Road, and the stream comes from the direction of Bramshall (or Bromshulfe as it was then more correctly named), and the spelling is Kiclesich. The word has been a source of interest for many years, but there is no doubt about the origin, especially when we find Kidle-sich. According to Ekwall, Ki-dle represents cy (or cu) dale, the cy being "cow" (the old plural of this was "Kine"), and "sich" is still used in Scotland for a small stream. We thus have "the stream coming from the dale of the cows", which certainly makes sense and fits the situation well.

The next two words are uncertain, but "Mothams" seems to be a shortened form of "Mottrams" (there were families of that name here 300 years ago), and "Bratches" is probably a medieval word for "wooden fortification or fencing", which appears a suitable name for a field, and farther on Redfern has "The Breach" as the name of another field. Another possible meaning is "creeks of water", as used by the translators of the famous passage in the Bible, Judges V, 17 (the

song of Deborah and Barak) : "Asher continued on the sea-shore, and abode in his *breaches*." If we knew the position of the place concerned, it would not be difficult to decide what the name implied.

At first sight the next word "Brickley Meadow" appears to be the "ley" or field where bricks were made ; but the word "brick" comes to us from the French word "brique" and "brick" came into the English language some centuries after "ley". It seems more likely that "Brickley" is related to "break" or "brittle", which was as old as "ley", hence the "broken field" would be indicated ; but again we do not know where the Meadow was. For the same reason one can only make guesses about Dow Lane, Jackmore Lane, and Eastmoreton ; though Redfern gives "a fen" as the meaning of "Eastmoreton", it seems more likely to mean just what the word says "the tun" or "ton" at the East Moor, and we know that the land near the Race-course was the "Moor at Uttoxeter" once held by Tutbury Monks.

However, we can give the exact meaning of "Gill Hill", "Owleymoore", and "Willigs". Redfern rightly gives "ravine" as the meaning of "gill", a Scandinavian word for "ravine" still used in the Lake District as "Ghyll" (that area was occupied in Saxon times by sea-farers from the North), "owley" as we have noted already is the "alder" tree, and there is at the present day the "Aldermoor" part of the Vernon estate near Somersal. Gill Hill is frequently referred to in the 1619 survey ; it was the hill between Popinjay and Loxley, and the woodland in the ravine is still called the owler-carr. "Willigs" or "wilgs" is the flat land between the Churchyard and the railway, and is marked on the old map noted above, where "willows" formerly grew. Dow Lane is rather doubtful — "dow" is an ancient British word for water ; also "dowse" is another old term for "plunging" something into water — so Dow Lane is probably "watery" lane. Watery Lane is still the name for a lane at Beamhurst leading towards Hollington. "Amberlands" is considered by Ekwall to be akin to "Ambergate", "amber" being a Celtic river name. This land was on the right-hand side of Dove Bank below the site of the old half-timbered house where Charles I stayed, and where the Copestake family were visited by Mary Howitt as a girl. Mr. Wood, the owner in 1642, had bought the house and the Amberlands from Walter Mynors.

Several words noted by Redfern have "close" following ; that means land which has been "enclosed", sometimes through Acts of Enclosure by Parliament ; the name of the person to whom the "close" belonged usually precedes "close", but in some cases the preceding word refers to some other

particular — its nature, its special features and so on. Holloway Close is either a low piece of land or has a sunken road leading to it. As to “Insich” the second syllable like “sich” above in Kidle-sick (or e.g. Raddle-sick near Cheadle Common, the red-earth stream) is a stream ; the “in” is not so clear ; it may refer to a place usually under water, or like “Inncroft” at Bramshall, may be a stream on land belonging to an inn, though “inn” does not seem to have been in use before the 13th century ; yet most “closes” are of later date.

Next we have “Buddie Close”, and need only state that Ekwall found “Budda” was once quite a common personal name. The Buddie Close was part of Walter Mynors’ land on the way from the High Wood to Marchington. “Perryfall’s Close” has a personal owner. Perryfall’s name occurs several times in the 1619 Survey ; he leased land from the Mynors family near Buddie Close, and also held land in the North Wood and by Stoneyford Brook. Again “Grisslesich” has a stream, but could mean either a stream or ditch where pigs wallowed, or a stream with steps leading down to it. “Gris” is Anglo-Saxon for pig, and “grise” is a step, akin to “degree”. Grisslesich was part of Thomas Mynors land in the Woodfield, and was rented to Robert Gill and Humphrey Oldfield. Beale Meadow presents another problem ; it is unlikely that Beale is a personal name ; if that were so, the word would almost certainly be “Beale’s Meadow”. Redfern’s suggestion that it is connected with Beltane the Smith legends is most unlikely ; there is no evidence at all that this part of Staffordshire was ever concerned with Beltane fires on the mountains, as, for instance, occurred and still occurs in Cumberland. The most probable meaning is given by Ekwall, “an interval — or wide space”, which might be expected in naming a “meadow”. Another possible solution would take account of local dialect use of the vowel sounds “- ay” and “ee” (e.g. the local pronunciation “tray” for a tree), and the opposite use of those sounds, e.g. in church and other records, John “Teeler” for John Taylor. This would make the correct name “Bayle” meadow, which could mean a “secure” or “safe” field. The Beale Meadow was listed in 1619 as lying in the Botham Field (i.e. towards Ashbourne way), being part of Mynors land rented by John Finnemore. Crich is easier to explain, it is a common old English word for a “hill” and still remains at the Derbyshire village where a war-memorial column can be seen from a very long distance. Clames Croft might suggest another personal name for the owner, but such a personal name is not known and the word seems more likely to refer to the nature of the ground — “clammy” or stickily clay ; or even land which was too dry, i.e. akin to “clem”, “starve”. As many deposits of clay and marl are

found around Uttoxeter, "sticky" appears to be the likeliest explanation.

Wiggan lands refers to the old dialect word, found, according to Wright, in many counties, meaning the mountain-ash tree.

In "Rackyard", Redfern is certainly led astray by his having read that torture by the rack was still in use, even in Stuart times, until 1628. But Redfern's agricultural experience should have enabled him to understand the true meaning of rack-yard ; for many years it was the custom to keep cattle (usually for fattening, also to provide a large tonnage of manure) loose in "straw-yards" or "rack-yards" ; hay and straw were piled around the enclosure in racks on the walls ; what was not eaten was trodden underfoot, and was periodically carted on to the land, or piled in heaps until the ploughed and ridged land was ready, or until the strawy manure had rotted down. Frambolt's Meadow suggests a personal name, and occurs in a Duchy survey of 1629 among the list of Windsor lands. Who Frambolt was we do not know, but the word seems to be a form of Frampole, which in old English meant "peevisish". Though Redfern omits its situation, we know from the survey that this meadow was in the Northwood part of Uttoxeter, and seems to have been extensive for a number of tenants are mentioned as holding parts of it.

Walesfield cannot mean a Welsh field. Two possible explanations occur : "Wales" may be a personal name — the owner of the land ; but there is a record of the date 1115 containing the word "Waliscroft", and this suggests the name Wooliscroft which still survives. If a personal name is not the correct solution, it is possible that the old word "wale" or "stripe", the result of striking with a rod, may refer to stripes or furrow marks after ploughing, or even narrow ridges or banks in the field. The Wales Fields must have been extensive, for John Milward is recorded as holding four pieces of enclosed land (once part of Mynors' land) near the "mustard" field, amounting to 38 acres.

Fauston Fields. Halliwell suggests that Fauston (or Fordstone) was used to denote fields which might be flooded in Spring, i.e. by flood-gates across small streams or ditches, the supports of which might be based on a "ford". But this is uncertain. The Fauston Fields are recorded as two closes of land adjoining Wood's closes, once Kynnersley land, near Gill Hill held by Thomas Alsop. A small stream does run close to this land.

Neephurst is recorded as land in Timber Lane sometimes called "Rotherham's Bog".

Owfast — It is difficult to see what connection there can be with a field ; “owler” is a dialect word for the alder tree, but there is no clear indication that this is intended, especially when joined to “fast”. But it is recorded as being next to Thomas Alsop’s Fauston Fields.

Ridnall. The most likely explanation of this is “Rid”, a third part (e.g. the Ridings of Yorkshire), combined with “halh” — Saxon for a remote valley ; the “n” is an example, frequently occurring of intruding a letter — e.g. Hanley is locally still called “Handley”. Ridnall would thus mean a one-third share in a valley at some distance from the town. It may be that both Ridnall and Riddings refer to land held by Richard Startin in the Woodfield near Maiden’s Well.

Shield’s Acre could have a personal name, but the field was held by Richard Startin, and was close to the River Dove. “Shield” in Medieval English, was a temporary shed, probably akin to “shieling” in Scotland, and was used by shepherds during the lambing season. (One recalls Gabriel Oak in Hardy’s account of the shepherd’s hut, in which Gabriel was nearly poisoned by carbon monoxide from the stove).

Siches or Mue Acre is another name which could more easily be explained if its situation were known. As we have already seen, “sich” was a stream, but the alternative name “mue” (if that is a correct spelling) can hardly be akin to the modern “mews”, i.e. stables, originally a cage for falcons. If the stream made the ground muddy or “mucky” then the close following of “ac” in acre might well cause elision, resulting in mu-acre ; but the acre with a stream appears more likely.

Marlow is explained by Ekwall as a “pit” left by water drying up ; it could, of course, be akin to the modern “Marl-pit”. But in 1629 Marl-pits were not in use.

Warlow Riggings again has the dividing word “Riddings” ; Ekwall explains “Warlow” as a “watch-low”, or in modern terms a “look-out post”. This land was near the Popinjay Farm, and was held by William Hall, through his wife Dorothy and her two sisters.

The little “Shell Croft” is almost certainly the “shelf” or hill-side croft ; “Shelf *plus* Croft” makes an awkward pronunciation likely to become “Shell croft”, as more easily spoken. “Shulf” or shelf (a hill top) was frequently used in “Bromshulf” (modern Bramshall) even in the church records until 1700. This land was held by John Tooth, and was close to Birchen Bower on the Bromley Way.

Hobheys is easier to explain — “hey” or “hay” was the Saxon word for a hedge, or a piece of land enclosed by a hedge — there are many local examples of this : The Hayes

House Farm off the Stone Road beyond Bramshall, the "Deerhay", now a field, but once a deer enclosure in Lord Willoughby's Park at Bramshall. "Hob" was a frequent name for Robin (a hob-goblin was another name for Robin Goodfellow). So Hobheys meant Robin's enclosed fields.

Spurn Nook. Spurn is derived by Ekwall from "spearr", a wood enclosure (there is a field in Uttoxeter parish once called Sparr Flatt) and "nook" is a Celtic word for corner (the Scots still speak of an "Ingle neuk").

Quoynes is really a technical term for a wedge, or a die-stamp ; the word "coin" came from the French word for the tool used to stamp the metal used, so a field "Quoynes" meant a wedge of land, a corner of a field. This land was 13 acres in extent and was held by Thomas Finney ; it was near the Uttoxeter Woodlands, next to land held by Edmund Merrie or Merry.

Tommey Fields : Tommey was thus spelled by Redfern, who derived it from a Celtic word meaning "temple". But there is no known connection of any Uttoxeter land with a temple. It seems that this word is a personal name, for it was part of the Blount estate, at Wall Heath, the tenant being Richard Barton in 1629. The land was owned by Sir Thomas Blount, but it seems unlikely that a Knight's christian name would be used in a familiar way to refer to his land.

Nobleworth is explained by Redfern as a place "warded" or protected, but it seems more likely that the value (probably "annual" value) of the field is used to give its name ; a noble was a medieval gold coin (stamped with the figure of a rose, and so called a rose noble) ; its value was 6/8d. which, of course, was much higher than such a sum at the present day. I have identified this field in Lord Aston's estate in the 1629 survey. It was near the present "Birchen Bower" off the Abbots Bromley road, and is spelled Noblesworth. The record states that it had been bought by Mr. Gorringe, and was 12 acres in extent.

Sweath Holme Knowle provides another difficulty for explanation. Knowle, the small top of a hill, is clear enough, and holme, when it is not a place where holly (a.s. "holeyn") is found, means land by a river ; sweath (or as it is found in some places, Swearth), usually meant long tracks of mown grass, i.e. swath ; however, mowing tracks only come once yearly, and this part of the word may be more akin to "sward", a stretch of green grass. This land was actually divided into at least three parts : "Upper Swetholme", farmed by William Summerland under the Duchy of Lancaster, and "Lower Swetholme", with "Swetholme Bank" farmed by James Orton, the landlord of this part being J. V. Smith in 1834. It lay near Woodford, by the side of the River Dove, and in

1629 consisted of 43 acres. Under the will of Anne Blount in 1594, it was held by Walter Mynors as trustee, and later passed to Mr. Hart, a member of an old and wealthy Uttoxeter family.

Redfern next mentions "Tinset Park", which he explained as being a Norse word for a "Meeting Place" or "place of judgment", the word "thing" is still used in Scandinavian lands for a "council meeting, or parliament"; in the Isle of Man, the parliament is still known as the "Tynwald". But the land was a Park also known in 1629 as "George's Park"; it lay on the N.W. edge of the Heath, and it is unlikely that it would get its name in the way suggested. The name occurs at least ten times in the 1629 survey; I have not discovered who George was, but it is clear that this name was earlier.

It is interesting to note that the area beyond the Heath (between Weaver Lodge and Bramshall Park) consisted almost entirely of Park land 300 years ago, and their names still survive. Next to Tinset Park was Lambert's Park, until recently the farm of Mrs. Shipton; between these lay the Middle Park, once owned by the Townsend family. Beyond these to the west was Lord Willoughby's Bramshall Park; to the North-west was Uttoxeter Great Park (still "the Parks"), stretching up to the Stramshall Boundary; all this, of course, before the building of the "New Road" and the cutting of the canal. There are still traces of the road leading from Byrd's Lane to the Parks house. Tinset Park was rented by several tenants, Peter Lightfoot having 39 acres. The park had been bought from the Mynors family by Rowland Manlove. Other men who rented parts of Tinset Park were Edward Bott, who had a barn there and six separate closes of pasture, arable, and meadow land — 25 acres in all. Richard Startin had one close of land called "Heath Spot" (this will be described fully in a later chapter; it was near the Uttoxeter end of the New Road). "Heath Spot" is said to be part of Tinset Park, owned by the "late Mr. Mynors", and was 7 acres; John Shawcross had one close, 7 acres of pasture lying in Tinset Park; Thomas Gilbert had two closes in Tinset Park containing 24 acres. John Durose had one close in Tinset Park, late Fern's land, which was 7 acres in extent, and curiously enough, the "Chantry" had 2 acres within Thomas Gilbert's part of Tinset Park. It is clear that 300 years ago Tinset Park extended from the rear of the present "Three Tuns" as far as the former fields beyond Weaver Lodge. Presumably, before it was divided into enclosed parts, it was either rough waste grazing, or may even have held deer. The name "Tinset" is something of a mystery; apart from Redfern's very unlikely suggestion of "Meeting Place", it has been

pointed out that "tin" or "tien" was Saxon for ten, but there is no suggestion that there were ten parts, even after enclosure ; a much more plausible suggestion is that the "et" is akin to the "et" in *Uttoxeter*, which we know was "Wotoc's hede" ; if the second syllable was shortened to "et" then the word "Tinset" may contain a syllable meaning heath or waste park land, but this must remain doubtful.

As time passed, the word, possibly on account of easier pronunciation, became "Tinselle", and this name has been given to the school recently built on one small part of the original Park.

Redfern went on to consider unusual field names in Crakemarsh, Creighton, and Stramshall areas. The name Stramshall itself (which Redfern on a later page gave as derived from "Straguiceolle"), was recorded in Domesday Book as "Stagrigeshalle", which Prof. Ekwall derives from the person name "Stronglic" — the man who settled on the "hill" there. (It is quite possible that the final form "Stramshall" owes something to the corresponding form "Bramshall", which arose about 1700 from "Bromshulfe". In my boyhood, children used to say that once upon a time there were two brothers, giants, Bram and Stram, who could not live happily together, and so built two "halls" to live in).

"Creighton" is derived by Ekwall from the "tun", the enclosed settlement on the "creic", i.e. a hilly ridge, the latter name being adopted by the Saxons from an ancient Celtic word ; we have seen that Celtic (British) words for mountains, rivers, and natural scenery were often so adopted by the conquering Saxons, possibly from slaves ; Saxon children, in the care of slave girls, would naturally pick up many ancient British names.

Redfern found another group of strange field names in a survey which he mentions, dated 1774. These names of course, included not only those originally given by the man who gradually brought wild country under cultivation, but others adopted up to the 18th century. Some are obviously chance personal names which became associated (like George's Park above) with certain lands. Redfern's wife came from Stramshall, and he had carried out considerable research into that neighbourhood. I have taken the derivations as far back as possible, but some are still uncertain, and some have been affected by dialect, especially the kind of dialect (so called) which has resulted merely from careless or "easy" speech habits. Readers may prefer other explanations, and they may also discover better solutions.

The study of field names, especially those now obsolete or only surviving in old deeds and maps, lists of tithes and so on,

is an absorbing task. Knowledge of the actual site can often give a clue to the real meaning (as in the case of Swetholme noted above).

Some of the Stramshall names have already been dealt with ; Grimmer Meadow is a new one, and may even be based on old half-beliefs in fiends ; grim being the Saxon for fierce or cruel. (Bunyan used several such words in the Pilgrim's Progress, and belief in demons died out very slowly). It has also been suggested that "grimmer" may be a corrupted form of "gammer", an old woman.

Grimmer Meadow was owned by Wm. Carrington of Creighton, and was farmed by Peter Durose ; but the name was also given to land held by Wm. Ford, who owned the Homestead and "Greave's Grimmer". Redfern (page 352, 2nd edn.), was probably correct in explaining the words Grimmer's Lane as a place which credulous people named because there was (and not so very many years ago) a belief in places being haunted. Bunyan in "Pilgrim's Progress" uses several old names for fiendish spirits whose bad influence had to be overcome by Christians.

There is, however, a variation of this name in a directory of 1850 which gives "gimmer" for "grimmer" ; gimmer is a local dialect word for a two-year-old ewe, and might provide another meaning ; it was also used in a slangy way for a young girl, just as in more recent times a young girl might be called a fine "filly".

"Crimbles" suggests land easily broken up by cultivation ; this was near to "Hand's Croft" and was owned by W. Godrich.

"Low sernshaw Balk" has roots of three old words ; "sern" or "sarn" was an ancient word for "pavement" or "made track" ; "shaw" is still used in S. Scotland for "woodland", and "balk" was a ridge left by unploughed land. This was land near Crakemarsch Hall, owned by Sir T. C. Sheppard, and farmed by John Finnemore.

Glednall was the name of two plots of land between Spath and Stramshall ; one small plot was farmed in 1834 by W. Walker, and another of 5 acres in extent was held by John Bamford of Stramshall, baker. These fields lay on the right-hand side of the road, and were later altered considerably by the coming of the railway. Again the meaning is uncertain — -nall or -all was usually the ending of a word for "land", like "Picknalls", "Gendall" etc. "Gled" might be from Anglo-Saxon "gled", bright ; this was used to describe an opening among trees (a glade) where bright light could penetrate. If we knew that the name was given in the middle ages, it might be derived from "glede", a kite, which was a common species of hawk, mentioned by Shakespeare. It is

now only occasionally seen in some parts of Wales, but it formerly lived near most large towns and used to feed on street refuse.

“Crimbles” or “crembles” was a term used to describe land with a broken or ridged surface, hence “crumbles” explained above.

“Flash”, like “pike” or similar words, seem to have been used for strips of land ; along Hollington lane there were “Mallabar’s Flash” and “Evans Flash”, 13 acres in all, let to a number of tenants.

“Gommersley” was thought by Prof. Ekwall to give the personal name of the owner of the “ley”. But several plots around Stramshall were given “family names”, and “gommer” may mean “Gammer” the feminine of Caffer — master. This family way of naming fields was in one case at least (at Crakemarsh) used to commemorate a grandchild ; the “oe” meadow meant the grandchild’s field.

Barnard Fold was explained by Redfern as “the enclosure for the bear or crop, and it enclosed the settler’s home”. It seems more likely that Barnard, the man who held the land — we have no evidence of the date — had an enclosure for sheep, perhaps some distance from the homestead. A well-known Scots song has “When the sheep are in the fauld, and all the kye (cows) are hame”. This suggests that the fold was not so near to the house as the cowshed ; and Burns wrote : “The Shepherd steeks (shuts in safely) his faulding sheep” ; again this seems to imply that the fold was out in the fields.

“Butterley” might suggest that the ley or field was good pasture, and that the grazing cows produced good butter ; but as a field name it seems more likely to refer to the slope of the land ; the sloping side of a railway cutting was called “batter” by the navvies ; this seems to be connected with the French “battre” to beat down, i.e. to make firm. The location of this field was at Waterloo.

The “Stings” seems to be derived from an old Saxon word “Steng” — a pole or stake (Skeat). Hence it would be a piece of land fenced by stakes, or possibly a wood from which the farmer was able to cut poles or stakes. Another suggested derivation is from the French “etang” a pool, but the former derivation seems more probable.

“Hush” or “hatch” was a field in which a small dam and flood-gates had been built for irrigating a meadow in spring ; there were two such flood-gates on the Tean Brook between the River Dove and the Ashbourne Road. “Grif” was a

term meaning "hollow" and the name also occurs in Doveridge Parish, where the higher and lower Griffe were so named ; next to these was the "Crow-foot" field, i.e. water-buttercup. The Stramshall field was alongside Tean Brook near Stramshall Mill.

Redfern next includes "Rossell and Rosser" ; he thought these words meant "moorland". But there were two fields farmed in 1834 by John Rawlins named "Great Rawser" and "Little Rawser". The name almost certainly came from the Anglo-Saxon "rusche" which means a "rush" ; low places in a poorly drained field are usually covered with rushes. Redfern thought that Roston, near Norbury, meant "Moorland Town", but Prof. Ekwall says that Roston meant the "tun" or "town" of Hootsige's people. The Rawser fields were by the side of the New Road, between Waterloo and the Parks. A small water-course still runs through it, and there are patches of rushes.

"Little Shines" which Redfern next considers, is recorded in other places as "Little Strines", and refers to fairly wide stretches of water on meadows, irrigated for spring growth or flooded by heavy rainfall. This name was given to two fields by the side of Tean Brook where the Tean road crosses over "Strines Bridge". The late Mr. Belcher first drew attention to the name of this bridge, the fields being on the right hand side of this road, forming part of the farm of the late Mr. H. Reeves ; the larger field was the "Broad Strines", and John Holland was the owner in 1834. The farm, Sparr Flat, was sold by auction on February 16th 1848 at Uttoxeter. Other fields on the farm were the "Threepenny Bit" and "Wren Park" ; this last name seems to have been given jocularly ; the name appears again in this district, near the "Red Cow" Inn on the Abbots Bromley road.

"Pale Flat" is still the name of a farm, which belonged to Sir T. Shepperd of Crakemarsh Hall, and in 1834 was occupied by the widow of J. Finnemore. The meaning is clearly land enclosed by wood palings, and the present holder is Mr. R. Ball.

Redfern thought that "Homson's piece" was a field near a "ham" or "home" — the common Saxon ending for the place where a chieftain and his connected family lived, e.g. Notting-ham, Birming-ham ; but it is much more likely to mean the piece of land farmed by Homson ; in most early records of estates there are examples of so-and-so's piece. In this case it would seem that we have another example of the way in which names had additional (or sometimes omitted)

letters for easier pronunciation : after "m" it was usually an additional "p" ; "Samson" thus became "Sampson", and "Thomson" became "Thompson". In this way "Homson" may well have been connected with "Hampson".

Crize Croft gets its name from an old Saxon word for "ridge". There were two fields on the ridge near Carrie Coppice on the Loxley Estate, the Great Crize Croft of six acres and the Lesser Crize Croft of four acres. The tenant in the early 1800's was T. White.

There are two possible meanings for Hankey ; there was an old English word "hanch" which meant a "cock", which Ekwall thought was the meaning of this field name. But we find that a very small field on the Stramshall estate was known as the "Handkerchief", and it seems probable that Redfern was referring to this.

In Uttoxeter, the land on which the present R.C. School stands was formerly known as the "Cock Stubbles", and may have been so-called because poultry were allowed there after harvest ; but as this land was held by Thomas Gilbert of the "Cock Inn" in High Street, it seems more likely to owe its name to its connection with that Inn.

The Loxley estate contained a field on the right hand side of Carrie Lane leading from the Stafford road to the Stone road near Field. This was listed in the Kynnersley Records as the Hankey.

Stear Field might be the name of almost any field on a farm, for "stear" meant "manure", being connected with the Saxon word "steart" which meant "tail". It must also be stated that Prof. Ekwall gives another possible explanation, that "stear" was a short form of "staver", a stake, and the "stear" field might thus mean a place where staves, or stakes, could be cut.

Far Blakeley was listed by Redfern as a Loxley estate field, but his derivation (from a Celtic word for hill) was incorrect. The field (from which the late Dr. Fox named his house in Holly Road), is by the River Blythe at Caverswall, but higher up the stream ; on Mr. J. H. Prince's farm at Field Hall, the name occurs again. The "ley" is the Saxon word "leagh", a common name for a field especially those used for hay, and the dark alluvial soil by a stream resulted in

the field being the "black ley". This is corroborated by the name of the field by the R. Blythe on the Stafford road opposite to Burndhurst Mill ; this evidently had its name from the dark soil — it was called the "Inkpot". It has also been suggested

that "Burndhurst", the name of the mill on the Blythe could explain "Blakeley and Inkpot", as it means the "wood destroyed by fire". Brentwood in Essex has the same meaning. The burnt forest would give the land a black appearance.

Also on the Loxley side of Carrie Coppice is a long field still known as the "Long Bentley", i.e. the meadow notable for the "bents" or stalks ; this is a very common field name all over Saxon England, occasionally in the form "Bentley", and the surname "Bentley" derives from the same source.

Cop Hill, noted by Redfern without a derivation, is an example of a duplication, for "cop" means a "hill" (the Dutch word "kopje" is still used in South Africa).

Another field near Carrie Coppice was that to which Redfern gave the name "Ami Hills" ; this appears on the Loxley estate list as "Ann Hills" and must have arisen from the personal name.

The "Loppen Wall" which was by the side of the brook between Loxley and Bramshall was indeed bounded by a stockade, but not for the reason given by Redfern. It recalls the time when most estates had parkland where deer roamed, and such land was usually enclosed by a high bank with a hedge ; so that "Loppen Wall" was the boundary over which the deer had to leap when escaping.

In the same district, but on Lord Willoughby's Park at Bramshall, we find a field still known as "Deer Haye", the hedge round the deer enclosure.

The Duckstone Piece was thought by Redfern to have been the place for "Ducking" scolding women, or cheating tradesmen. No doubt there was such a place at the east side of Uttoxeter Market Place. But the Loxley estate records place this field between Gibb's Leasow and Mr. Salt's Farm on the Bromley Road, also known as the Leasow. It seems unlikely that this field, far away from the town, would be the site of a place of punishment ; though there is a pond near the road, it is almost certainly an old marl or clay pit.

Cuckoldshaven lies on the West side of the Bromley Road beyond the Red Cow. It is uncertain whether this also refers to old-time punishment or to a place where men whose wives were unfaithful could go for comfort. Perhaps it is well to leave the matter there.

Great Dearndale, the site chosen for the present country house of that name, was thought by Redfern to have been a Celtic Temple ; but the Saxon word "dearne" meant a stream,

and a stream does in fact run down the valley northwards into the Bramshall Brook. There is no evidence of any Celtic Temple.

Hiversley, apart from the "ley" might have several meanings ; it was near Waterloo Farm. Hivers was the name in olden days for any group of persons or animals — hence a hive of bees ; many fields in the Midlands were owned by the monks of Croxden, and Hiversley may thus mean the Monk's ley, or a field used by bee-keepers to place their hives. (Before sugar was brought to Europe from the Middle East in the 1st Century A.D., honey was the only sweet used ; the Saxon drink "mead" contained fermented honey. So bee-keeping was frequent in past centuries). However, the most likely derivation of Hiversley is the ley or field where "havers" or oats were grown ; just as Bearcroft means the barley field, and has no connection with bears.

Redfern thought that Godstone near Leigh might have come to us from Druid customs ; but near Leigh we also have Dodsley (God's Field) and these are plainly Saxon words, brought in by settlers long after Druid times.

We may here add other curious field names in addition to those which Redfern collected. On the roadside leading towards Kingstone from the Stafford road, at the top of the hill under which the railway tunnel passed, is a field known as the Pig Tail ; almost certainly this was given by the shape of the field, just as Roundabout occurs in several places for other fields.

Another interesting name is found on the Park Farm, Bramshall, formerly part of the estate of Lord Willoughby de Broke. A level field, halfway between the Homestead and the Deer Haye mentioned above, is the "Middle Lawn". Our modern lawns and lawn tennis are derived from the old middle English word "laund", i.e. an open space among trees ; the field in question must have been a natural clearing in the old park land.

One portion of the ancient Broad Meadow, between the present railway and the old Marriage Holme farm was known as the "Shoulder of Mutton" piece, evidently from its shape.

There was also between the present Elite Cinema and the Heath, a small field rented by T. Pegg (who was an Auctioneer in 1850) known as the "Little Admiral's Field" ; this was obviously named after Admiral Lord Gardner, whose house adjoined this land. It was probably in this small field that

the Guards of the Duke of Cumberland paraded after the Duke had stayed at the House (now erroneously called the Manor House) on his way to fight the Young Pretender in 1745. The writer of an article in a Staffordshire Magazine (1968) made an amusing error about this parade, saying that the Young Pretender, Bonnie Prince Charlie, had passed the night there. If this had been true, Uttoxeter might have replaced Culloden Moor in history books.

A field name which occurred on many farms, but is now seldom used, was ox-pasture ; this was usually nearest to the homestead, and plough teams of oxen were turned out there at night so that they could be made ready early next day for their work. The last occasion on which ploughing by oxen is said to have taken place in Uttoxeter was on the land now occupied by the Imperial Laundry and the Heath School.

We have already noted that between the Heath and Lord Willoughby's former Park in Bramshall, there were several small Parks ; one field at Kiddlestitch where there was a cottage (now demolished) used as a Tollgate House had the unusual name of "Poor's Park" ; as this was part of the land held by Uttoxeter Charity Trustees, it seems that the name was not given to it in the way that Lambert's Park, and George's Park were so-called, but at a later date when the various Charities were brought under one control.

Another interesting field name occurs where the footpath from the town branches in two directions — to Heath Cross, and the site of the old windmill, now Mr. Walker's Bakery. This field is the "Brickyard Croft", and was one of the many places from which clay for brick making was obtained. This industry was important in the 18th and 19th centuries, the last kilns being actively worked along the New Road, close to the present junction with Grange Road, as late as 1900.

It is certain that many old field names, other than those now added to Redfern's list, are known to readers. If such could be preserved, it is suggested that information could be supplied to the Editor of the "Uttoxeter Advertiser". Possibly some readers may have old records containing such names. For example, owners and tenants of holdings near Willslock and the "Red Cow" which were once part of the Loxley estate, may have records of the days when this district was part of the Crakemarsh lands of the Sheppard family, a fact which has now almost been forgotten.

THE FEUDAL TENURE OF UTTOXETER

Redfern began his account of Uttoxeter under the Norman Feudal System by stating that this was really the beginning of the History, regarding his previous account as interesting but what he termed "pre-historic". This is hardly the correct meaning of the word ; and there is (as Redfern in places showed), a considerable amount of early written history of England (and consequently, of even this comparatively unimportant region).

We have references to Britain from Roman, and even from Greek and Phoenician sources ; though Uttoxeter does not enter into these, we can obtain (as we have shown in earlier pages) some significant details of what happened in this area many years before 1066. Mercia was the centre of many movements of armies at different times. It was also the district chosen by invading settlers, both Anglo-Saxon and Northmen. Moreover, modern historians take the view that the Celtic people were not so thoroughly exterminated as was once believed, many becoming slaves to the Anglo-Saxon settlers. But the point which Redfern seems to have minimised is that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the many authentic records of laws etc., the historical writings of men like the Venerable Bede, or of King Alfred himself, a number of Anglo-Saxon poems, even the legends brought to this land from the previous homelands of the invaders, all these form quite a large body of literature closely connected with historical events. We owe our shires, our ideals of township government, many of our social habits, our duty in national service, and some of our legal heritage to the centuries before 1066.

We have already noted that even the customs and ideas of feudal service to an overlord, or to a manorial nobleman, were in part to be found in the Anglo-Saxon and Danish Earldoms before the Normans established the system thoroughly ; this system remained for several centuries, and even longer in rural districts. But Redfern rightly marks the Domesday Survey, made by William's Norman scribes throughout every shire in 1086, as the date of a more definite written record. He gives some local details as set down in the English translation of the original Latin. First he explains some of the words used by the scribes ; thus the extent of an estate was given as so many "hides" of land, a hide being the

equivalent of about 120 acres ; smaller areas were measured by "carucates", that is, the area which could be cultivated and harvested by one plough-team in the course of a year ; still smaller areas were termed "virgates", from the Latin word "virga", a rod, which was the measuring instrument used, and has come down to us as "rod, pole, or perch".

The work of herding and cultivation on each estate was carried out by men who had to labour for the Lord of the Manor, but some had also their own small holdings ; following the Roman name for the first two classes of land-workers, we find a number of "villeins", usually Saxon "ceorls" who, under late Saxon Earls, and then under Norman manorial Lords, were half free, half bound to their overlord ; some of these had enough land to maintain their own cattle, pigs, and plough teams ; rather lower in the scale came "bordars" ; a bordar usually occupied a small hut or cottage with a small area of land round his home ; still lower were "serfs", really slaves, many of British origin. Even villeins and bordars were like serfs in some respects, for they could not leave their Lord's manor to lived elsewhere without his consent.

The Domesday survey recorded the number of each of these three classes in each manor. As Redfern states, Wotocshede was held by the King ; "Earl Alfgar held it ; (Alfgar had been Earl of Mercia in the time of Edward the Confessor) ; There is half a hide of land (i.e. of cultivated land). There is land for ten ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs with 1 serf. There are 24 villeins, and 11 bordars, with eleven ploughs. There are 16 acres of meadow ; wood 2 leagues (Redfern gives 2 miles) in length and as much in breadth. It was worth £7 in the time of Edward the Confessor, and now (i.e. in 1086) £8".

Redfern is not quite accurate in his definition of villeins as being made up of conquered Britons, and free Saxon ceorls. Actually, as we have noted, a few Britons did remain (mainly slaves) but even before the Norman conquest the independent Saxon freemen had already come under the authority of the manorial lords ; neither they, nor their cottage bordars could leave their lord's manors, and all had to bear their part in cultivation. But the 35 manorial farm workers, with one slave, made up a larger number than those in neighbouring manors. For example, Cheadle had only 8 such men, and even Rochester (a small Roman town about 200 years before Uttoxeter began), was recorded as having 18 villeins and 10 bordars, i.e. only three more than Uttoxeter. Tutbury was more important ; it had a castle held by Henry de Ferrers, and even a market. Here, 42 men lived, not as villeins, but

as tradesmen, who together paid £4. 10. 0. in taxes ; though we are not told what the whole Manor was worth, it must have been more than Uttoxeter ; and Rolleston, also held by the Ferrers, was valued at £10 a year.

The statement in the "Gentleman's Magazine" quoted by Redfern on page 92 is not quite correct. The magazine writer thought that Domesday Book recorded only those lands on which William might make special claims, but it contained much more information than that ; the eminent historian J. R. Green gives the procedure followed by the King's commissioners who provided the information, which was duly transcribed into the two volumes now in the Public Record Office ; it appears that the task of making this complete record was not accomplished until some time between 1088 and 1100. As Green says, "A jury empanelled in each hundred declared on oath the nature and extent of each estate, the number and condition of its inhabitants, its value before and after the Conquest, and the amount of tax due from it to the Crown".

There is no doubt that William, by retaining at least some of the local Saxon tradition, managed to gain some measure of confidence from the English ; and this, after two or three centuries, resulted in the gradual re-emergence of the English as a nation, keeping their own language, despite Norman / French influence, and many of their old legal customs etc., doubtless improved by the work of Henry II in 1170. Under his rule, judges went on circuit, and the powers of the sheriffs in each county were taken from the Norman Barons and placed in the hands of men trained in legal matters, and responsible to the King.

Redfern omits any comments on this general question of the survival of the English speech, customs etc. but gives the story of local manorial affairs under the Ferrers family.

After Edwin and Morcar, sons of Earl Alfgar, had been deprived of their inheritance, William, as Domesday Book recorded, was himself the Lord of the Manor of Uttoxeter. But the lands in this and wide areas of Derbyshire, Staffordshire and elsewhere were given to Henry, the founder of the noble Ferrers family, as a reward for all that he had done to serve William.

The "honor" (i.e. the centre of a group of estates held by a chieftain) of Tutbury was an important part of the Ferrers property, and Henry de Ferrers built the first Castle there, though there had already been a fort of some kind on the

high hill overlooking the River Dove.

Henry de Ferrers is described by Redfern as a man of political knowledge, abilities and integrity. He died soon after working as one of the commissioners responsible for the Domesday survey, and his estates passed to his only surviving son Robert de Ferrers.

Redfern quotes from several accounts of the armorial bearings of this family, which included varying numbers of horse-shoes. This seems to confirm that the Ferrers name was definitely connected with the trade of "farrier" ; it is not clear whether Henry de Ferrers had actually been a blacksmith in Normandy, or perhaps more probably a supervisor of the fairly numerous smiths required for such an army as William brought over in 1066, in which cavalry were highly important. It is interesting to note, in addition to Redfern's comments, that many words still in use on horse matters are derived from Norman / French. The word "cavalry" above comes of course from "cheval", and later the mounted knights who were supposed to set an example of gentlemanly behaviour, gave to our language the word "chivalry" ; cleaning and brushing down a horse requires a "curry" comb, derived from *con* (Latin *cum*), and "rei", an old French word for "order". We find "courvoiser" (French *cuir* - leather), for a worker in leather as late as 1678, when S. Alkin of Uttoxeter so described himself.

The custom of holding "tournaments", and "jousting", was introduced with their names by Norman / French knights ; and the words "pastern", "palfrey", and "harness" are all of French origin ; the last word originally meant the "armour" worn by a knight as well as by his horse.

It is not always realised that horses in those days were usually too valuable to be used in agriculture instead of plough oxen.

The powerful horses of armoured knights from which our modern "Shire" horses are descended, had to be capable of carrying even greater weight during the wars of the 14th century, and by the time of Henry VIII the "destriers" or heavy cavalry horses were so valuable that export of horses was forbidden except with royal consent. There is little doubt that, especially from the time of John of Gaunt, the breeding of such horses was pursued by many landholders in the Tutbury and Uttoxeter areas ; indeed, until the coming of the tractor, the heavy motor lorry, and the "combine", this district was noted for its Shire horses ; the stud maintained by the Duncombe family at Calwich Abbey was world famous, and

the Salt family at Denstone still keep up the traditional reputation.

The retention of English customs and names in agricultural work, rather than French, can still be traced in local field names. As we have seen, many farms of the Crakemarsh, Kynnersley and other estates, had at least one "ox pasture" field. This was usually near the homestead so that the plough oxen were ready at hand each morning.

In Uttoxeter district, place-names of Saxon origin almost entirely outnumber those from Norman/French sources; Somersal Herbert (to give its full name), and Marston Montgomery, both include the names Herbert (also Fitz-Herbert), and Montgomery, two of Duke William's companions in his invading army of 1066, and the Vernon family name is another example.

It is also just possible that the spelling of Norbury and Sudbury has been influenced by the French words "Nord" and "Sud" for North and South. Both of these names occur in other districts in England, but the latter part "bury" or "borough" is definitely of Saxon derivation, and the "Nor" and "Sud" may not after all be Norman/French. But "Assizes" and "Court" have French roots, and came into use with the legal reforms of the two Kings Henry I and Henry II.

Some students of social history make special note of the changes in the names of various kinds of meat, tending to show that the Norman barons (and their households) were chiefly interested in animals when slaughtered for food; thus live "cattle" became "beef" when "butchered" (this last word also is really French), sheep became "mutton", and swine's flesh became "pork" in the same way. There does indeed appear to be some significance in these changes. It is also notable that Norman manners at table first brought "forks" into use, together with napkin, basin, tureen, salad, and other words. Kerchief, another French word meaning "head covering" later gave us "Hand-kerchief" a curious word mixture with no direct suggestion of its later use for wiping the nose.

The lords of Uttoxeter, the descendants of the first Henry de Ferrers, are mentioned in old records of the time of King Stephen (1135 - 1154), and one Robert de Ferrers (Redfern notes that it is uncertain whether he was the son or grandson of the original Henry de Ferrers), distinguished himself at the Battle of the Standard at Northallerton (1138), when the invading Scottish army was put to flight. The title of "Earl of Derby" was his reward. Redfern does not explain how

the same title was later conferred on the grandson of this Robert by King John in 1204. But the family obtained large estates by marrying wealthy heiresses. One of these estates still retains the name Higham Ferrers, near to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire. In Devon also we find Churston Ferrers, near Brixham, and Bere Ferrers ; there are also two "Newton Ferrers" in that area, one in Devon and the other over the Cornish border.

The son of the next Earl (if indeed the word "next" is correct), William de Ferrers, married a daughter of the Earl of Pembroke, William (the) Marshall, whose coat of arms contained horse-shoes. Redfern quotes the opinion of Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms that the use of horseshoes in the Ferrers coat-of-arms really had its origin from this marriage, but there seems to be some doubt about this. However, there is no doubt that the word "farrier" still used by some rural people to mean a veterinary surgeon, originally meant a man who shod, and generally saw to the welfare of horses ; and so he came to be consulted when other animals needed attention.

The charter granted to Uttoxeter by this William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, in 1251 is quoted in full in English by Redfern, who found it in the second part of the old MS. book which, he thought, had been solely the work of Peter Lightfoot. As we have seen, Peter Lightfoot may have been responsible for the preservation of a number of documents concerning Uttoxeter, but it is more than likely that Peter (or a scrivener friend employed by the lawyer who was in charge of documents connected with the Lords of the Manor of Uttoxeter) took copies of these documents as he found them, and as Redfern notes, the whole book, with a copy (brought up to date) of the Lancaster survey of 1629, was fortunately preserved. One record in the book is a Latin copy of the 1251 Charter, followed by an English translation, but there is no internal evidence to show who translated it. Redfern assumed that Peter Lightfoot did so, and this may be correct, though expert opinion on hand-writing of the period, after comparing the handwriting of the record with Peter Lightfoot's signature on several authentic deeds of the period, has decided that the writing of the Latin and English versions of the Uttoxeter Charter is not that of the authentic signature of Peter Lightfoot.

Redfern's account of the Feudal system in this district was mainly directed to the Ferrers family, followed by the change of authority to the Lancaster family when the Earl of Derby joined Simon de Montfort in 1264 in the rebellion against Henry III.

One object of de Montfort was to compel the Royal party's adherence to the "Provisions of Oxford" by which many grievances of the tenant classes of society were to be remedied. It was significant also that the proclamation issued about these Provisions was in *English*, the first sign that the Norman / French language and authority had not completely displaced Anglo / Saxon speech and customs.

Some historians of this period have led readers to accept that the custom of field culture in the Manors and villages of the countryside was universal. This has already been referred to in a previous section, and it is clear from the Survey actually known to Redfern that there were once at least 3 "fields" in the Manor of Uttoxeter ; the "Botham" field, though not marked on the old map previously noted, must have covered the land stretching from Slade Lane and the Heath towards Tean Brook and Spath (actually the last field to bear this name was sold by auction in 1921 ; it lay just beyond "Povey's" Bridge).

Other manorial fields were the "Bromshulfe" field from the modern Smithfield Road to Kiddlestich, and the "Woodfield" stretching from the bottom of Bridge Street towards the High Wood and the Marchington border ; in addition we find at the present day the names "Eastfield" for the late Dr. Herbert's house and land in Church Street, and "Northfield" for Miss Tibbits' house at the north end of High Street. We have other records (noted also in the Survey used by Redfern), of the "Great Broad Meadow", the "Little Broad Meadow", the "Brook Furlong" and similar field names near the present Railway station.

Recent writers on the history of the manorial customs have pointed out that common field cultivations were by no means as universal as had once been supposed ; already even under William the Conqueror or before, there were signs that some freemen were to be found in towns and villages, and though some had, in busy times like harvest or ploughing, to carry out what were termed "boon" services to the overlord ; the use of this word implies that though the work was almost compulsory, it was regarded as a willing tribute from the worker to the manor.

Among the Tutbury Priory records dated April 7th 1218, there is a grant of lands at West Broughton, Doveridge, to Henry of Denstone, who undertook to contribute certain labour services to the Priory, but these could be commuted for 12 shillings per annum, and a record was made of services to be rendered to the Priory by the tenants of Henry of

Denstone. Here it may be convenient to note that in 1180, William de Ferrers had made other grants to Tutbury Priory, and that "William of Utochashodra" was one of the witnesses of the deed. There is also on record that in June 1450 John Yeveley resigned as Rector of Doveridge Church. This raises an interesting question : was John related to the famous architect Henry Yevele, who died in 1400 ? Among Henry Yevele's works were parts of Windsor Castle, Westminster Hall, the nave, the West Cloister, the Abbot's House of Westminster Abbey, the name of Canterbury Cathedral, and other buildings and bridges. There is some probability that Henry's father had a part in building Uttoxeter Church tower, the oldest part of the structure.

It is clear from the Tutbury record in Domesday Book that as early as 1086 it was possible for craftsmen to live under a manorial lord without even "boon" service.

So, too, as the work of clearing waste land or woodland for cultivation was carried on by men who held land within a manor, such cleared land was termed "assart" land ; legally such extension was an offence, but the Lord's Steward could waive the offence, for both Lord and tenant gained by the work.

There were, of course, occasions when the encroachment was not condoned, especially if the Lord's hunting ground was diminished, or if the encroachment was done secretly. It must be remembered that certain terms in use today, e.g., forest, park, chase, had very strict legal meaning in Norman and Medieval times. A "forest" was land where Common Law was not in force, being governed by the king's own regulations ; a "park" was land enclosed by the owner, with woodland and pasture ; a "chase" was the technical term for a wide space of unenclosed land where animals could roam and breed freely, to be hunted by the owner or persons duly authorised. (In an Inquisition of 1327 Needwood is actually called Needwood Chase).

Needwood was of course the great Staffordshire Forest controlled first by the Ferrers family, and later by the Duchy of Lancaster. It had five Wards, of which Uttoxeter held one from which lime tree bark worth 6/8d. per annum was obtained, while the moor of Uttoxeter produced £2 per annum. In addition there were many valuable oak trees.

Land could become the property of a Freeholder if the Lord made a grant to reward some servant ; such was the case of the Heath Spot, granted by deed some time before 1266

by Earl Ferrers to Adam the Hunter ; Adam was free from all taxes, etc. but had to provide a saddle-bow for his patron at Pentecost each year. Even in 1086 we find that at Madeley, Beamhurst, on the Manor once held by Earl Leofric, husband of Lady Godiva, two "Englishmen" held $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land with 5 bordars and 2 villeins. There is nothing to show how the two Englishmen came to be landholders with their own workers in a manor which had been acquired by the Norman Robert de Stafford, but it is clear that the customs of land tenure were never quite as universal as older historians thought. It is also evident that for some reason or other, perhaps for what other Saxons may have considered treacherous, it was possible even under Norman rule for Englishmen to retain at least partial independence, and the total inhabitants of Norman-French origin must have been very much smaller than the total of Englishmen. A study of surnames (which became customary from the 11th and 12th centuries) shows many more words derived from Anglo-Saxon than from French. As late as 1629 we find that the Uttoxeter surnames Wood, Bakewell, Moore, Hill, Townsend, Leadbeater, Johnson, Abberley, Carter, Barton (all of English derivation) far outnumber such French names as Durose, Chamberlain and Sergeant.

We also find that in the town of Tutbury there were even in 1086 no less than 42 craftsmen who worked at their own various trades.

These facts enable us to understand how it came about that by 1251 there were men in Uttoxeter who were described as "free burgesses" of a "free burrow". Even though such men had larger or smaller fields for their own use, they must also have carried on the crafts needed by a small country community ; and Redfern, on pages 98 - 100 in copying the Charter of 1251 notes that Earl Ferrers was to have "reasonable tolls" and profits of "the ovens and markets", but the burgesses were to have the right to "take within themselves chapmen (i.e. traders) and other free men". We thus find that trades useful to the community were already carried on, and so can follow the gradual changes whereby the early manors of the Norman barons, including Uttoxeter, became the town and village communities of Tudor and Stuart times. Though in earlier days the manorial lords in theory could control the movements of their "ceorls", "bordars", and of course their "serfs", it is clear that some dependants gained their freedom and moved into towns to carry on their special trades. This was often an advantage to the Lord of the manor as he was able to draw considerable sums in the way of market-tolls and

similar dues, even from town ovens. There are signs, noted by Redfern on page 296 of his 2nd Edition, that the Uttoxeter oven was situated on the South-West side of the Market Place, under the ground level of the present shops between Market Street and the Old Talbot Inn.

We note from Page 95 (2nd Edition) that Redfern recorded the existence of this revenue even in the time of Robert de Ferrers, son of Henry, the first of that family. From a Harleian Manuscript (Redfern really found this is Mosley's History of Tutbury) we learn that soon after 1100 there were in Tutbury 182 burgesses, in Uttoxeter 127, and in the newly-founded "Newborough" 101.

Redfern also states that Robert de Ferrers intended these three "boroughs" to produce necessities for each other ; thus Uttoxeter was to have iron working, Tutbury to carry on woollen manufacture, and to Newborough was given the work of bleaching. Redfern does not give the source of this information. (The facts are given in Mosley's History of Tutbury, 1832). Sir Oswald Mosley, the author, had access to many documents, medieval and earlier, kept by the Duchy of Lancaster, and Redfern's story is frequently taken from this History, not always with corroboration of the facts — e.g., in his early pages Redfern adopts the theory about the ancient worship of an Eastern God "Teut" from the History of Tutbury (page 2). Mosley derived the name Tutbury from this name, but Professor Ekwall states clearly that there are two possible derivations, both Saxon ; either Tutta's Borough, or, because some ancient documents, including Domesday Book, give the name Stoteberie, i.e., Stut's Borough ; there is some confirmation of the second name because there is another place name in Northamptonshire, viz., Stuchbury. Norman-French influence could lead to the dropping of the initial "s", but the fact remains that (apart from some signs of iron forges in Uttoxeter in later years) such arbitrary, almost enforced regulation of trade may not be sound economics. In fact, these divisions of the trades of the Needwood district did not continue as planned, though records show that a number (upwards of 100) of craftsmen inhabitants in each of the three "boroughs" could be found by the end of the 13th Century. However, by 1781 it is significant that a cotton spinning factory did exist at Tutbury, having developed from woollen weaving before that time. Uttoxeter also had two streets named after the cottage trades carried on there for many years, viz., Smithy Lane (so called centuries before the present "Smithfield" cattle market was opened there), and Tinkers' Lane (now Stone Road), where within

the last century nail-making by hand was carried out. It is somewhat curious to note that there are no signs of iron ore in the district, and the only reason for continuation of iron working through the centuries may have been a supply of charcoal from the local woodlands ; the use of coke for smelting came much later towards the end of the 18th Century, when Abraham Darby began the practice in Shropshire.

Uttoxeter's greater growth in population than either Tutbury or Newborough is due to the cattle grazing and milk production of a wider district, and consequent ancillary trades to supply the needs of this agricultural area. So that, although the Leighton Ironworks and the production of Agricultural machinery would appear to have continued the plans of the Ferrers, this is really only accidental. Redfern noted also that excavations carried out in his time at the lower end of Pinfold Lane and the Hockley revealed some ancient residues from old forges there.

In 1850 there were ten smiths and various metal workers in the town, compared with 25 joiners, so on the whole it has to be stated that the economic development of Uttoxeter followed what might have been expected naturally ; though agriculture and grazing predominated, and local trades were governed by this factor, some tradition of iron working seems to have persisted, though not to the extent planned by Robert Ferrers.

Although in more recent times the older transport by heavy waggons and canals has been replaced first by railways and next by the motor-lorry, economic laws still determine the occupations of Uttoxeter folk ; hence we find the present Dairy activity at the Unigate Factory, and the various iron and steel products by Bamfords Ltd., for agriculture and similar purposes ; while the biscuit factory of Messrs. Elkes has developed through business acumen and the availability of local employees, especially where female deftness is required. Rocester is also becoming notable for the earth-moving machines of the J. C. Bamford Company.

In fairness to the Earls of Derby it must be stated that their plans were not wholly selfish, and that consideration was shown for at least some of their manorial dependents. We have previously noted how the custom of cultivating great fields of the manors gradually changed, while smaller individual holdings increased in number. By 1629 Uttoxeter manorial lands were held by as many as 180 citizens, whose holdings varied from as much as 500 acres in extent in the case of

Sir Thomas Pope Blount, and 113 acres in the case of Richard Middleton, down to the 3 acres of George Clare and even to the one acre of George Willet. This means of course that a considerable number of inhabitants worked at various trades and kept a large or perhaps a small number of livestock ; even today the buildings behind the larger houses in Balance Street show that stables, cowsheds and pigsties were common ; there are even a few circular openings giving access to lofts, so that hay could be unloaded and stored ; many householders must have had meadows and pastures outside the town.

All these gradual changes have brought the town from the 1251 "borrow" of William Ferrers to the modern urban district. There was, too, from 1348 onwards, such a scarcity of free labour that the manorial lords came to resemble modern landlords. This was caused by the dreadful epidemic known as the "Black Death" : a plague which spread from the East until Western Europe was reached. It has been estimated that at least 50% of the population perished. The reduction in supply of free labour forced lords of manors to pay higher wages ; even this was insufficient to restore the total national product of corn and animals, and the attempts made by the past landowners to re assert their former manorial rights and customs were only partially successful. It took many years at the end of the 14th Century to restore any kind of order ; peasant rebellion, especially in the southern and eastern counties, eventually led to various Statutes enacted by Parliaments in which the representatives of the shires and boroughs became more powerful. The effect of all those troubles, increased by the long war against France and by opposition to the influence of John of Gaunt, who had almost usurped the government of England, also gave the ordinary citizens of the towns more power than before.

In most large town trade guilds were formed (the great livery companies of London and other cities arose during the middle ages).

Though we have no evidence of such craftsmen guilds in Uttoxeter, there are records of the system of apprenticing youths. Redfern himself, in 1838, was apprenticed to Samuel Brassington, Cooper, of High Street, Uttoxeter, as we have already noted in the story of Redfern's early life.

Details of apprenticeships in the early 1600's were stored in the Parish Church, and Redfern refers to these on page 331 of his 2nd Edition.

Though these facts refer to the Tudor and early Stuart periods, we can be sure that the process towards freedom of

the craftsmen in the towns had extended gradually from Norman and Medieval times.

Redfern records that during the reign of King John, the second Earl William Ferrers was highly regarded by his sovereign and was instrumental in helping that obstinate monarch to avoid the worst consequences of his quarrel with the Pope (actually King John was not only the cause of the whole of England being placed under an interdict for a year, but was excommunicated, and in 1212 was even deposed by a Papal Bull ; for it was at that period claimed by the Popes that they held political as well as religious authority over all rulers). The result of John's abject submission to the Pope in 1213 led to war against King Philip of France, who had been chosen by the Pope to be the new King of England. Earl William Ferrers, like many other Anglo Norman lords and commons, was not prepared to be a subject to the King of France : moreover he had received special marks of favour from King John, for the King himself is said to have personally buckled on the new Earl's sword when creating him Earl of Derby, and in addition presented him with wide stretches of land in the North Midlands.

Uttoxeter was involved in this extension as it became part of the "Honor" of Tutbury.

This Earl of Derby also helped to settle the quarrel between King John and his rebellious barons which ended in the King's signature of Magna Carta in 1215. He lived on until 1247. His successor, another William de Ferrers, held Chartley Castle as well as Tutbury ; he is noteworthy as having established the herd of wild cattle in Chartley Park, where they remained until the early years of the present century. I used to pass through the Park frequently, keeping a distance from the last bull there. He was a noble animal, creamy white with black muzzle and hoofs and black-tipped horizontal horns ; his ears were black inside, and he had small creamy rolls of hair from behind his head almost to his shoulder.

I can recall the birth of a calf, I think in 1912. The presence of a wild bull at Chartley in 1911 is rather uncertain ; my memory may be at fault regarding the date, but otherwise the facts are as stated — its mother, a Shorthorn heifer, had been at ley in Chartley Park during 1911 ; the prepotency of the wild breed was evident in this hybrid progeny. The calf when full-grown had black-tipped horns, black muzzle, hard black hoofs, and black hair inside its ears. This calf was reared, and two years later was added to the dairy herd. Its udder was of average size, the teats longer than those of the

usual wild cows, and black in colour. Its owner had little use for cows which were not heavy milkers, and when I was demobilised early in 1919 I found that he had sold it.

The custom of establishing herds of wild white cattle in enclosed parks seems to have arisen when King Henry III (or some of his barons) allowed forests to be reduced in extent. In his book "The Ancient White Cattle of Britain and Their Descendants" 1951, G. K. Whitehead enumerated no fewer than 97 herds which were in past centuries to be found in England, Wales, and Scotland ; but by 1953 only five herds of horned white cattle remained. Of those, only the Chillingham herd in Northumberland could claim to have been entirely free from breeding with other cattle, though the Chartley herd also remained much as they had been for about 700 years. (The Chartley type all had creamy white coats with black points, but the Chillingham herd had, and still have, reddish brown points).

During the early 17th Century, the Devereux family (Earls of Essex) held Chartley, and some estates in Wales were added to the Ferrers lands.

Whitehead records that one Earl Ferrers was prosecuted at Stafford because his Welsh drovers, bringing some wild cattle to Chartley from South Wales, allowed the animals to run amok and cause damage to property. Unfortunately, no date of this occurrence is given.

The gradual changes in town trading, land tenancy, and bringing woodlands into cultivation which we have noted during the centuries following the Conquest were really a continuation of development begun even before 1066. For example, as far back as the reign of Athelstan (A.D. 925 - 940) any trader of London who had made three voyages as a trader-shipowner, was considered of sufficient importance to be ranked as a thegn, or minor nobleman.

So the recognition of trade as an important factor in town life was continued under Norman rule. In the time of Henry III the Earls of Derby (the Ferrers family) among many landowners in England, granted charters which gave to the towns on their estates privileges in markets, fairs, and some share in local government. Redfern records (pages 98-100 in 2nd Edition) the full English text of the Charter granted to "our burgesses of Uttoxeshater".

This is dated August 25th 1251, and a copy of the Latin original with an English translation follows the survey of the Manor of Uttoxeter in the MS. book used by Redfern, and

referred to in Part I of this work. Redfern thought that the whole MS. book was the work of Peter Lightfoot, and we have seen that some parts do in fact suggest that Peter Lightfoot had some connection with the preservation of these old records. But there is a translation of the Charter in the appendix to Mosley's "History of Tutbury" ; extracts from this book were included in Redfern's History. Sir Oswald Mosley, writing in 1832, acknowledges his debt to the Duchy of Lancaster Record Office and other sources, including a Harleian Manuscript and the Great Coucher of the Duchy.

The Mosley translation of the Charter differs slightly in a few places from that in the Uttoxeter MS. book. Presumably Mosley obtained his version from Duchy Records, but no clear statement regarding what Redfern termed Peter Lightfoot's translation can at present be made. One fact is certain — the writer of Redfern's MS. book must have had access both to the original Latin version, and possibly to an English translation. At the time of writing I am still investigating Redfern's statement that Peter Lightfoot was a skilled Latin scholar. Redfern recorded that Rev. M. Edge, who succeeded Thomas Lightfoot as Vicar of Uttoxeter in 1653, gave this account of Peter Lightfoot to Strype who needed information regarding Latin records still existing in Uttoxeter Church. Redfern said that Strype included these notes in a "Life of Dr. John Lightfoot" — Peter's brother. I have tried to find these notes in the Library of St. Catherine's, Cambridge (Dr. John's college) and at the Bodleian Library without result. It is intended to follow this search at the British Museum when an opportunity occurs. Redfern does not say whether he found these notes ; if Edge's information did state that Peter was the Composer of the Latin inscriptions in Uttoxeter Church, then Peter's Latin knowledge is beyond doubt, for he was still alive when Edge was Vicar, and they must have been close acquaintances. But Redfern also mentions that Peter wrote a pamphlet "A Battle with a Wasp's Nest" published in 1649 to defend his father, Thomas Lightfoot, against the attacks made by a fanatical curate, Rev. J. Hemming. In fact this pamphlet was written by Dr. John Lightfoot, and presumably published in Peter's name because in 1649 Dr. John might not wish to appear as an opponent of a Parliamentarian.

There the matter rests at present, but I hope later in this work to discover and record the facts of the case.

Mosley's modernised English version of the Charter runs thus :— 'To all men that shall see or hear this present deed,

William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, sendeth greeting in the Lord, Know ye, that we have granted and by this present deed confirmed for us and our heirs to all our burgesses of Uttoxeshather that they hold from henceforth freely their burgage and burgages with the appurtenances in the same town of Uttoxeshather, as some of them have formerly been assessed, and others hereafter shall happen to be, with free ingress and egress, to be held of us and our heirs to them and their heirs and assigns and their heirs for ever, as freely and as decently they shall and may hold the same as free burgesses, with all liberties, free common and easements to a free borough belonging, yielding to us yearly and to our heirs for every burgage separately twelve pence sterling at two terms of the year, viz : one half at the annunciation of Our Lady and the other half at the feast of St. Michael, for all secular service, custom, and exactions to us and to our heirs belonging. We have granted also to the said burgesses and to their heirs as abovesaid, that they may take within themselves upon their burgages aforesaid chapmen and other free men whom they will, enfeoffing them or granting them other easements within the said borough without injury to the same, and without hindrance of us and our heirs, saving our service in all. And further we will, that none carry on any trading within the said free common or liberty without reasonable and accustomed toll. We have granted also to the said burgesses and their heirs as aforesaid, and to all being within their commonalty, that they shall be within all our own lands and liberties free from toll wheresoever they shall pass for ever, saving other men's charters and liberties made and used before this deed. All these things aforesaid we have granted within the said commonalty of the aforesaid burgesses for ever, saving to us and our heirs a reasonable toll of all our said burgesses and their heirs and assigns, and of all within their commonalty being, when as our lord the king that for the time shall be shall tax all his boroughs throughout England, so as the said tax be gathered by the hands of two burgesses for the use of us and our heirs, and also saving to us and our heirs the ovens and market with their profits, and the site of the borough and market and of the court leet also from them with pannage and all other liberties without our said borough, but so as the said burgesses and all within their commonalty being, have common and herbage within the ward of Uttoxeshather, where the men of the said town have been formerly to out-common without our hindrance, so as it may be lawful for us and our heirs to make our profit of all other lands and tenements meadows, pastures, woods, marshes, moors, and in all other

places within the aforesaid town and ward, without contradiction of the said burgesses or their heirs. And if it happen that any burgage belonging to us or our heirs by any means or by fire shall be in lack of occupation or service by the space of one year, then for want of a tenant the whole commonalty of the burgesses of the said town's street ("street" is a mis-translation of the Latin, which is "statim", i.e. immediately. The translation in the old MS. book is correct; it has "straight", i.e. "straightway" or "at once") after the year shall take the said burgage into their own hands, and make the best profit thereof, and answer to us or our heirs for the farm and service thereof (here the old MS. book errs — the words "and service" are omitted, but the Latin has "ferma et services") without any claim of him or his, who first held the said burgage.

Wherefore we will, and grant for us and that all things aforesaid be observed and kept to the said burgesses and their heirs for ever. In witness whereof this my present writing, with the strength of my seal for me and my heirs I have fortified. (The Latin word "roboravi", i.e. "made strong", is translated "confirmed" where Mosley's translation reads "fortified"). These being witnesses :— Hugh de Meynell, Robert de Essebourn (Ashbourne), Robert de Punchardun, Richard de Mortimer, Jeffrey de Caudrey (a town in Normandy), Robert de Merinton, Thomas, Rector of the Church of Uttoxeshather, Robert de Stretton, Clerk. Jordan de Grindon, John de Twyford, Clerk (this is almost certainly Twyford between Repton and Barrow-on-Trent), and William de Rolleston. Dated at Uttoxeshather on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, in the year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John, the six and thirtieth.

On page 102 (2nd Edn.) Redfern states that Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, claimed for Uttoxeter the various privileges which had been allowed by the Ferrers Charter; in fact the final confirmation of the Uttoxeter Charter was granted by Edward II in 1308 to Thomas, son of Edmund; he was later to become an opponent of Edward II, as we shall relate.

It may make the story of the various Charters clearer if these are transcribed here.

On August 15th, 1251, comes the first, already given above, and recorded in Mosley's History of Tutbury, and (in both Latin and English) in the MS. book used by Redfern. A copy of this, the Charter of William de Ferrers, is held by the Uttoxeter Urban District Council. Next, on December 14th in the same year (1251) we have the confirmation of this

Charter by King Henry himself, and a copy of this also is kept in the Uttoxeter Urban records. (Redfern omitted this confirming Charter, perhaps because his old MS. book did not mention it, or perhaps because he did not realise that William de Ferrer's Charter needed royal confirmation before it became legal ; also Mosley did not give the text in his History).

The Uttoxeter Urban District copy, taken from the Chancery Charter Roll, 36 Henry III, 14th December 1251, runs thus :— The King to the Archbishops etc. greeting.

Know ye that we grant, and by this Charter confirm to our beloved and faithful Will. de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, that he and his heirs for ever shall have free warren in all the demesne lands of his manor of Vittokesather, so long as these lands, however, are not within the bounds of our forest so that none may enter those lands to take refuge there, or to take any thing there because it pertains to the warren, without the licence of and by the will of the said Earl or his heirs, upon forfeiture to us of ten pounds.

We grant to the said Earl and his heirs for ever to have one market at his said manor of Huttokesather in the County of Stafford, every week on Wednesday, and to have one fair there every year for three days' duration, on the eve, on the day and on the morrow of the Nativity of the Virgin (7th, 8th and 9th September).

Wherefore we will, and firmly order for us and our heirs, that the aforesaid Earl and his heirs for ever have free warren in all the demesne lands of his said manors in the said counties, so long as these lands are not within the bounds of our forest, so that none may enter those lands to take refuge there . . . (etc. as above).

We grant to the said Earl that he and his heirs for ever have one market at the aforesaid Manor of Huttokes' in the County of Stafford, every week, and one fair every year as aforesaid.

Witnesses : A. Winton (bishop) Elect, Guydon de Lezinnan (a town in S.E. France), William de Valence, John Maunsell, reeve of Beverley, Ralph Fitsnickolas, Master William de Kylkenni (in Ireland), Archdeacon of Coventry, John de Lessington (? Lessingham in Norfolk ?), Robert Wateraund, Roger de Lokinton (near Castle Donington), Ralph de Bakepuz (Berkshire), William de Charnay (Berkshire), Hugh de Merrill, and others. Given by our hand at Huddesak, on the 14th day of December.

It will be noted that the witnesses came from much wider areas than those whose names are given in the Charter of August 15th 1251. Hugh de Menil is the only one included as a witness to both Charters. The earlier list (in William de Ferrers' Charter) has more names of men obviously living in the Midlands. The confirming Charter of December 1251 appears to have called upon witnesses who were in actual attendance at the King's Court ; several in fact came from Henry III's French dominions ; and one was a Bishop, another an Archdeacon (though he seems to have been an Irishman).

It is interesting also to note that the king was careful to ensure that his forest was entirely reserved for his royal privileges. The reference to "forest" is especially noteworthy as King Henry was then at Hodsack ; this is just to the north of Sherwood Forest, and it appears probable that the King was there with a hunting party; the word means Hod's Oak.

Redfern (p. 103, 2nd Edn.) does refer to the confirming Charter granted in 1308 by King Edward II to Thomas, second Earl of Lancaster, but does not give the terms written therein. The Urban District copy (giving legal force to a Lancaster Charter and thus replacing the previous grants to the Ferrers family) runs thus :—
(c. 53 / 95 m. 12)

1st DECEMBER, 1308

'The King to the Archbishops, etc. Know ye that we have granted and by this our Charter confirmed to our dear and faithful kinsman (he was the king's cousin) Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, that he and his heirs shall have in perpetuity a market every week on Wednesday at this Manor of Uttox-hautre in co. Staffs., and a fair there every year lasting for three days, viz. the Eve, Feast, and Morrow of the Blessed Mary Magdalen (i.e. July 21st, 22nd, and 23rd) unless the said Market and Fairs be to the injury of neighbouring markets and fairs.

Wherefore we will etc. (as above).

Witnesses the venerable fathers the Bishops R. of London, J. of Chichester, and W. of Worcester ; Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Adomar de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Humfrey de Benham, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Robert de Clyfford, John de Hastings, Robert Fitz Payn, Steward of our household. Given at Westminster (1st December 1308).

William de Ferrers, the Earl of Derby, who granted the 1st Charter in August 1251, was the father of Robert de Ferrers, the last of the Ferrers, Earls of Derby. His story is given at length in Mosley's History of Tutbury, and was repeated in short form by Redfern on pp. 100 and 101 (2nd Edn.). (Mosley gives the great Monastic chronicler, Matthew Paris, who lived from 1200 to 1259, as his authority for the account of the foolish career of Robert de Ferrers). As noted by Redfern, Robert joined with Simon de Montfort and other barons who rebelled against the unsatisfactory government of Henry III ; for a time Simon de Montfort's victory at Lewes permitted him to show how the country might be better ruled if an assembly were called of Lords with representatives of boroughs and counties ; this was really the founding of a Parliamentary system. But the defeat and death of Simon at Evesham in 1265 delayed the beginning of this Parliamentary system until Edward, son of King Henry III, adopted and added to the reforms advocated by de Montfort. But this only came about in 1295 when Edward had been king for 23 years.

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